

Amph.  
Eng. Hist.  
(Ireland)  
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# STATEMENT

SUBMITTED TO

## THE PRIME MINISTER

BY THE

IRISH LOYAL AND PATRIOTIC UNION.

Part II.

## IRISH PUBLIC OPINION

IN SUPPORT OF

THE LEGISLATIVE UNION.

"I have already stated, with respect to Repeal of the Union, that I consider it tantamount to a separation of the two countries, and tantamount to a dismemberment of the empire. I have stated my opinion that it would be not only disastrous to England, but most calamitous to Ireland, and that it would be a most lamentable event for the civilized world; and I have no hesitation in saying that, if the dreadful alternative were to be offered me, deeply as I should deplore the calamity of civil war, I should esteem the dismemberment of this great empire a calamity greater still."—LORD PALMERSTON in the House of Commons, *Hansard*, Vol. LXX., p. 1066.

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# IRISH PUBLIC OPINION

IN SUPPORT OF THE

## LEGISLATIVE UNION.

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### INTRODUCTION.

THE Committee of the Irish Loyal and Patriotic Union, deeming it important that a full expression should be given to the views of the different sections of the Irish people who desire to maintain the Legislative Union as at present established, have collected the accompanying declarations of public opinion which have recently been placed on record by various representative bodies throughout Ireland.

The views therein set forth require no comment. They are not the opinions of a single class or party. They are the convictions of men who represent the commerce, the wealth, and the education of the country, but who at present, are not adequately represented in the Imperial Parliament.

The Committee of the Irish Loyal and Patriotic Union have already stated their objections to any measure calculated to weaken the Legislative Union between Great Britain and Ireland. They believe that no guarantees or safeguards could be devised to protect the various and important interests that would be imperilled were the demands of the Separatist Party conceded. They now respectfully submit to the Prime Minister this further independent testimony in support of their contention that the establishment of a Legislative Assembly in Dublin must be attended with results disastrous to the best interests of Ireland and of the Empire.



# DECLARATIONS AND ADDRESSES

OF

## Representative Bodies in Ireland

IN SUPPORT OF THE

# MAINTENANCE OF THE LEGISLATIVE UNION.

## THE IRISH LOYAL AND PATRIOTIC UNION.

“We are here to represent the Irish Loyal and Patriotic Union—an association formed for the purpose of uniting persons of both political parties, of all creeds, and of various interests, for the maintenance of the Union between Great Britain and Ireland. We strongly object to any measures for the establishment of a Legislative assembly in Ireland:

1. Because we believe that such a measure would be, and is, by the Parnellite party meant to be, a step towards the complete separation of Ireland from Great Britain;
2. Because we believe that the separation of the two countries would be disastrous to each, and would, by destroying the unity of the Empire, seriously impair its greatness, which is dear to us all;
3. Because we believe that, even before the separation was completed, such a legislative assembly, in dealing as it certainly would with the Land Question, would pass a large measure of confiscation, against which it would be impossible to provide any effectual guarantee;
4. Because on the question of education the rights of the minority are as little likely to be respected as they would be on the question of land;
5. Because, looking to the recent history and present state of Ireland, to the tyranny of the National League, and especially the practice of boycotting, we believe that all other rights of minorities and of individuals,

especially of the commercial and professional classes would be quite unsafe in the hands of such an assembly. In answer to the objection that the great majority of the Irish representatives in Parliament hold views opposed to ours, we wish to observe that the systematic terrorism practised in the country during the recent election has prevented the whole voice of the nation from being heard, as is proved by the fact that outside Ulster nearly one-third of the constituents abstained from voting; also, that the secrecy of the ballot was in many cases destroyed by the practice of voting as illiterates, and that it was not, we believe, generally trusted by the people. We further desire to point out that the great number of apparent supporters of separation is mainly due to the large bribe offered to holders of land in the form of a promise to relieve them from the payment of rent. We finally and urgently press upon the consideration of her Majesty's Government the present condition of the greater part of Ireland, where, by the working of the National League, it is now impossible for any man depending upon his industry to protect himself—hardly even to live—unless he strictly obeys the Courts openly established by the League. We trust the Government will take steps to rescue the country from this tyranny, and that its repression will be provided for in any Irish measure which the Government think it their duty to introduce. Any transference of the control of the police to local boards, or, indeed, any powers, such as undefined powers of taxation, which would increase or perpetuate the present influence of the National League, would plainly defeat this design."

—Extract from the *Address presented to the MARQUIS OF SALISBURY, K.G., at the Foreign Office, January 19, 1886.*

## THE REPRESENTATIVES OF IRISH COMMERCE.

"We appear before your Lordship as persons vitally concerned in the Banking, Railway, Shipping, Manufacturing, and General Mercantile interests of Ireland as distinct from the Landowning interest. Representing various Creeds, and both political parties, we have united for the purpose of expressing to your Lordship our unqualified objection to the establishment in Ireland of any form of Local Legislature or



National Representative Council, and our unaltered desire for the maintenance of the Legislative Union between Ireland and Great Britain. We believe that no statutory or paper limitation on the powers of a Legislative Assembly in Ireland would endure, and that those who may now nominally accept such an arrangement will never cease their agitation until they have gained their avowed object—separation from Great Britain. We hold that there can be no stopping-place between the Union under the Imperial Parliament and total separation.

“It has been the object of Imperial Legislation for the past fifty years to confer upon Irishmen every right enjoyed by Englishmen and Scotchmen, and to unite the three peoples more and more closely together on terms of personal and religious equality under the law.

“Under this treatment Ireland made steady progress. The dwellings of the people had been improved, wages had risen, agriculture had advanced, commerce had grown, education had been more widely diffused, and the general condition of the people had been elevated. Religious disabilities had been swept away, and every position in the State thrown open regardless of creed. Confiding in the maintenance of Order and the supremacy of British law, men of energy and property had devoted their minds and their capital to the various forms of mercantile enterprise by which the prosperity of Ireland had been advanced. By no class in the community is separation from England more dreaded than by those whom we represent, to whom the progress of Irish Commerce is due; but if the Governmental policy is now to be reversed, the bonds of union loosened, and the tendencies towards separation strengthened by the establishment of an Irish Legislature, under the control from the very outset of those whose object is the overthrow of British rule; distrust will take the place of confidence, all progress will be arrested, property will be depreciated, and impoverishment and decay must follow.

“The political agitation for the last few years has done serious injury to Irish commerce; but, notwithstanding that agitation, such has been the confidence of Irish mercantile men in the practical wisdom of British Legislators, that few have admitted to their minds a belief in the possibility that any proposal for the separation of the Irish from the British Legislature would be countenanced by responsible statesmen.

Recent political rumours, however, have given a rude shock to public opinion, and the result has been a paralysis of enterprise, a rapid fall in the price of securities, and, worse than a fall in prices, such an absence of buyers as has obliged railway and other public companies to suspend operations involving the outlay of capital, rather than attempt to issue stocks, or raise funds in such a condition of the market. For the time being the fall in prices has been arrested by a prevailing belief that the rumours will not be followed by action; but, should these hopes prove false, financial distrust will be intensified, and will result in panic and disaster.

“There seems to be an idea in some quarters in England that the granting of limited legislative powers to an Irish Representative Assembly will produce contentment and confidence. It seems to us idle to suppose that the surrender of power, under such circumstances as those which now exist in Ireland, will produce any such effect, or lead to a change in the objects of the agitation, or to an improvement in the character of the representation of the people.

“On the contrary, it is our full conviction that existing political and social evils will be aggravated, and that the mercantile community will lose all confidence in the future. They will feel that their property will be at the mercy of persons willing to conciliate the masses by financial schemes for their enrichment at the expense of property. Every effort will be made by capitalists to withdraw their money from Ireland; the most energetic and industrious of our people will remove, with whatever property may be left to them, to other countries, where they may hope to receive that protection from the laws which hitherto they have relied on the Imperial Parliament to secure to them at home; and that portion of the people of Ireland—fully one third of the whole—who are now strongly attached to the British connexion, supporters of the Constitution and loyal subjects of the Queen, will feel themselves betrayed and deserted by those from whom they are entitled to receive support and protection.

“In our opinion, the restoration of law and order and of personal liberty should precede the granting of any extension of local self-government in Ireland, and in whatever reform may be contemplated, no wider powers of local administration should be conferred on Ireland than on England or Scotland; and this principle should be kept clearly in view,



that the incidence of local taxation and the distribution of electoral and administrative power should be brought into correspondence.

“It is, in our view, essential for the preservation of order, that the constabulary and police shall remain subject to the control and authority of the Imperial Parliament.

“It is, furthermore, in our opinion, imperatively necessary that measures shall be immediately taken to suppress the organized system of interference with personal liberty, freedom of speech, and freedom of dealing, called ‘boycotting’, maintained by means of terrorism, based on outrage, and sometimes murder, by which the country is oppressed and the people coerced and enslaved.

“Finally, quite apart from our monetary interests, so seriously jeopardized, valuing most highly, as we do, our position of equality with Englishmen and Scotchmen as subjects of our gracious and beloved Queen, and as citizens of the British Empire, and having been faithful in our allegiance to our Sovereign, upholders of the Constitution and observers of the law, we claim from the Imperial Parliament the maintenance in its integrity of our constitutional birthright.”

—Address presented to the MARQUIS OF SALISBURY, K.G., at the Foreign Office, January 19, 1886, by a deputation of the leading mercantile men of Dublin, Cork, Limerick, and other cities and towns of Ireland.

## THE DUBLIN CHAMBER OF COMMERCE.

“With regard to the proposals which have been made for the re-establishment of an Irish Parliament, and the probable effect of such a change on the trade of Ireland, the feeling of the Chamber may be learned from the following paragraph, which concluded the report of the Council for the past year, and which was adopted by the Chamber at its recent annual meeting:—‘The Council feel themselves imperatively called on, at the present crisis, to declare their opinion that any measure calculated to weaken the Union at present existing between Great Britain and Ireland would be productive of consequences most disastrous to the trading and commercial interests of both countries.’ We have always held, and have given expression to the opinion on all suitable occasions, that the closer the connexion between Ireland and England the

better for the commerce and material prosperity of both countries. . . . But it is our strong conviction, that if anything be now done to disturb the Legislative Union, the trade of the country will be most disastrously affected. Even the mere idea that any such change is contemplated by responsible statesmen in England has caused such distrust in Irish securities, and such difficulty in raising capital for Irish purposes, that important works have had to be suspended. The still more serious fact is within our knowledge, that numbers of persons are sending their capital out of the country in consequence of the bare possibility of the legislation referred to. This collapse of credit and paralysis of enterprise have thrown a large number of artizans and labourers out of employment, and produced a serious amount of distress and poverty. If the idea of creating a separate Legislature for Ireland be carried into effect, the Government will, in our opinion, be brought face to face with an economic crisis and a condition of destitution in Ireland of a magnitude and extent which we cannot but contemplate with feelings of alarm and dismay."

—Extract from the *Address presented to his Excellency the EARL OF ABERDEEN, by the President and Council of the Dublin Chamber of Commerce, February 22, 1886.*

### THE MERCHANTS OF BELFAST.

"This meeting deplores the agitation which now exists for loosening the ties which render Ireland in all respects an integral part of the United Kingdom, and is deeply sensible that the commercial prosperity which has blessed the peaceable parts of this country will receive a sudden shock and lasting injury from every legislation which would have any tendency to imperil the connexion between this country and Great Britain, whether by the creation of a separate Parliament or National Council, or otherwise."

—Resolution adopted by *the Merchants of Belfast at the Chamber of Commerce, January 15, 1886*



## THE ULSTER LIBERALS.

"That this meeting of Ulster Liberals hereby expresses its confidence in the patriotism and statesmanship of Mr. Gladstone, and its gratitude to him for his magnificent and untiring services to Ireland; that it respectfully urges him not to risk the fate of his remedial legislation on land by entangling it with the vexed question of Home Rule. We recognize, in the results of the late General Election, the expression of a widespread desire for more extended powers of local self-government in Ireland; but we declare our determined opposition to the establishment of a separate Irish Parliament, as certain to result in disastrous collision between sections of the people holding conflicting views on social, economic, and religious subjects, and likely to create such a feeling of insecurity as would jeopardise all industrial and commercial pursuits; and we are satisfied that the maintenance of the Union with Great Britain is the best safeguard for the peace, prosperity, and liberty of all classes in Ireland. We recognize that the majority of the Irish people have been hitherto too much excluded from a share in the administration of Irish affairs, and we urge the abolition of the Viceroyalty, the appointment of an Irish Secretary, a thorough reform of the departments of Irish Government, and the establishment of an extended system of representative local government. As Liberals who are now without a representative in Parliament, we appeal to the Liberals of Great Britain to pursue steadily and patiently the policy of remedial legislation, extension of representative local government, requiring obedience to the law, and treating Ireland in all respects as an integral portion of the United Kingdom."

—Resolution adopted by the *Ulster Liberal Convention*,  
March 19, 1886.

## THE CHURCH OF IRELAND.

“That we, the bishops, clergy, and laity of the Church of Ireland, assembled in this General Synod from all parts of Ireland, and representing more than six hundred thousand of the Irish people, consider it a duty at the present crisis to affirm our constant allegiance to the Throne, and our unswerving attachment to the Legislative Union now subsisting between Great Britain and Ireland. And we make this declaration, not as adherents of a party, or on behalf of a class, but as a body of Irishmen holding various political opinions, following different callings, representing many separate interests, and sharing, at the same time, a common desire for the honour and welfare of our native land.”

“That we contemplate with dismay the social disorder, intimidation, and violence which prevail in many parts of Ireland, due to an agitation, the promoters of which would, it is evident, have paramount influence in a separate Irish Parliament. We, therefore, protest—in common with large numbers of our fellow-countrymen who do not belong to our Church—against the establishment of such a Parliament in this land. We are convinced that so revolutionary a change would only aggravate the peril to civil and religious liberty and the insecurity of property and life which now exist. Nor could any guarantees against such dangers be enforced by the Imperial Government in opposition to the will of an Irish Parliament without a recourse to arms.”

“That we hereby record our devotion to the interests of the great Empire of which this United Kingdom is the centre—a devotion intensified by our attachment to the country of our birth. We recognize the advantage and honour we derive from our present Imperial position, and the conspicuous place which Irishmen have long held among those to whom the Empire owes its prosperity and its fame. We therefore protest, in the interests both of our country and of the Empire, against any measure that could endanger the Legislative Union between Great Britain and Ireland, believing that such a step would lead to the complete separation of these countries, and to the consequent dismemberment and humiliation of the Empire as a whole.”

—Resolutions adopted by the *General Synod of the Church of Ireland*, March 23, 1886.



## THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH.

"That we would deprecate in the strongest manner, as disastrous to the best interests of the country, a separate Parliament for Ireland, or an elective National Council, or any legislation tending to imperil the Legislative Union between Great Britain and Ireland, or to interfere with the unity and supremacy of the Imperial Parliament. Legislation in any of these directions would, in our judgment, lead to the ascendancy of one class and creed in matters pertaining to religious education and civil administration. We do not believe that any guarantees, moral or material, could be devised which would safeguard the rights and privileges of minorities scattered throughout Ireland against the encroachment of a majority vested with legislative functions. As law-abiding and industrious subjects of Her Gracious Majesty, who have in some degree contributed to the peace and prosperity of the country, we claim that our present relation to the Imperial Parliament shall be maintained, believing that in this way alone can the liberty of the subject in the discharge of civil and social duties be properly secured.

We are further of opinion that under a separate Parliament the present system of unsectarian National Education, which secures equal rights and privileges to all, irrespective of creed, which provides adequate safeguards against proselytism, and which has conferred similar benefits on the country, would, in all probability, be supplanted by a denominational system, under which the young of any denomination, residing in districts where they form a small minority of the population, would be deprived of all education, except on terms opposite to their conscientious conviction, while a system of concurrent endowment, in a most objectionable form, would thus be introduced, in contravention of the policy that in recent times received the sanction of the Legislature.

Whilst acknowledging that large sections of the Irish people have in the past suffered many and grievous wrongs, we believe there are no grievances removable by legislation which cannot be removed by the Imperial Parliament, while the establishment of a separate Parliament in Ireland would most seriously aggravate many existing evils, and would produce other evils greater than any that at present exist."

—Resolutions adopted by the *General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland*, March 9, 1886.

## THE METHODIST CHURCH.

"We desire, on behalf of over 200 ministers, and over 50,000 adherents in this country, to assure your Excellency of our unabated loyalty to the Throne and Constitution of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and our profound respect for the person of our beloved and gracious Queen. As a Church, we have always inculcated and exemplified the duty of obedience to the laws of our country, and respect for the Constitution which it is our glory to live under. We would deplore any steps which might be taken, either by the Government or the Legislature, which would weaken the bonds which unite this country with Great Britain, and which would tend to the legislative independence of Ireland—a measure which, in our judgment, would be fraught with evil to the best interests of the United Kingdom."

—Extract from the *Address presented to his Excellency the EARL OF ABERDEEN, by the Conference of the Methodist Church in Ireland, March 16, 1886.*

## THE NON-SUBSCRIBING PRESBYTERIANS.

"We should be untrue to the convictions, not hastily formed, which we entertain respecting the Union of the Three Kingdoms, if we did not venture, at this unprecedented crisis, firmly to assure your Excellency that we look to the maintenance of the existing Constitution, with its Imperial Parliament representing the United Kingdom, as the indispensable safeguard of the liberties of the whole people of this island.

"We believe that the cry for legislative independence covers a desire for separation, and that any measure tending to weaken the existing tie of the Union would be but a prelude to results utterly disastrous to the economic and general interests of the country, as well as to the public peace."

—Extract from the *Address presented to his Excellency the EARL OF ABERDEEN, by the Association of Irish Non-Subscribing Presbyterians, March 9, 1886.*



THE UNIVERSITY OF DUBLIN.

“The peace and prosperity of all classes are, in our judgment, indissolubly connected with the legislative union between England and Ireland. We, therefore, conclude with the earnest hope that this and every other tie which makes Ireland an integral part of the United Kingdom may be fully maintained.”

—Extract from the *Address presented to His Excellency the EARL OF ABERDEEN, by the Board and Senate of the University of Dublin, March 12, 1886.*

RESOLUTIONS  
ADOPTED BY  
COUNTY GRAND JURIES,  
AT THE  
*SPRING ASSIZES, 1886.*

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**LEINSTER.**

**KILKENNY.**

“We, the Grand Jury of the county of Kilkenny, assembled at Spring Assizes, 1886, hereby declare our unalterable allegiance to the Crown and Constitution of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland.

“We are of opinion that a separate Legislature for Ireland, or any form of Home Rule leading to separation, would be injurious to her trade and commerce, weaken her credit, depreciate the value of her landed and other property, and so prove fatal to her prosperity.

“We cannot view without the greatest alarm the distinct breach of faith on the part of Great Britain, which would be committed if such a measure were passed, since the lives as well as the properties of the loyal would be at the mercy of those who have hitherto shown themselves devoid of the principles upon which the liberty, peace, and prosperity of nations depend.

“As an alternative, we would suggest to Her Majesty’s Government that the supremacy of the law be re-established, and that the decrees of the Courts of Justice be carried into effect, whereby every member of the community would have restored to him freedom of action in all lawful undertakings, and Ireland regain the position of a law-abiding country.”



### KILDARE.

"We, the High Sheriff and the Grand Jury of the county Kildare, assembled at the Spring Assizes of 1886, take this occasion of expressing our loyalty to Her Most Gracious Majesty the Queen, and our firm conviction that any measure tending to a separate Parliament, or any measure conducive to a dissolution of the Legislative Union between Great Britain and Ireland, would be most disastrous to the best interests of the Empire."

### KING'S COUNTY.

"That the Legislative Union between Great Britain and Ireland is of vital importance to both countries, and that any measure calculated to weaken that Union will be not only disastrous to the loyal and commercial interests of both countries, but also destructive of the peace and prosperity of Ireland."

### LONGFORD.

"That we, the Grand Jury of the county of Longford, assembled at Spring Assizes, 1886, desire to declare our loyalty and devotion to Her Majesty the Queen, her person and Government, and at the same time to express our strongest protest against the enactment of any measure tending to create a separate Parliament in Dublin, as such would, in our opinion, certainly act most disastrously on the prosperity of Ireland, and directly lead to the dismemberment of the British Empire."

### LOUTH.

"We, the High Sheriff and Grand Jury of the county of Louth, assembled at Spring Assizes, 1886, view with much alarm a proposal to disturb the Legislative Union as at present existing between Great Britain and Ireland, and regarding that Union as alone capable of affording adequate security for the maintenance of the authority of the law, and the preservation of individual liberty, we most strongly deprecate any measure being adopted by Parliament which would tend to weaken or impair that Union."

**MEATH.**

"We, the Grand Jury of the county of Meath, assembled at Trim, at the Spring Assizes, 1886, desire to express our conviction that any measure calculated to impair the Union which at present exists between Great Britain and Ireland would be most disastrous to the true interests of both countries."

**QUEEN'S COUNTY.**

"That we, the High Sheriff and Grand Jury of the Queen's County, assembled at the Spring Assizes, 1886, desire to express our loyalty to Her Majesty the Queen, and our desire for the continued unity of the Empire, and to state our firm conviction that any legislation tending to the severance of the Legislative Union now existing between Great Britain and Ireland would be detrimental to the welfare of the country."

**WESTMEATH.**

"We, the Grand Jury of the county Westmeath, assembled at the Spring Assizes, 1886, desire to express our attachment to the throne and person of our Most Gracious Sovereign the Queen.

"We declare our opinion that any measure giving to Ireland separate legislative powers, or even tending to weaken the Union at present existing between Great Britain and Ireland, would be productive of consequences disastrous to the well-being and safety of the country.

"We regret that respect for the law and for the rights and security of property has been lessened in many parts of Ireland, and we earnestly hope that any future Land Legislation may be founded on justice, believing that injustice has never produced, and never can produce, good results."

**WEXFORD.**

"That we, the Grand Jury of the county of Wexford, assembled at the Spring Assizes of 1886, desire to express our loyalty and attachment to Her Most Gracious Majesty the Queen, and in the strongest manner to protest against any measure being granted which would tend to endanger the Union of Great Britain and Ireland, which would be most disastrous in its consequences to the social order, peace, and prosperity of our country."



**WICKLOW.**

“That we, the Grand Jury, assembled at the Spring Assizes, take this opportunity of expressing our unabated devotion and loyalty to the person and Throne of Her Most Gracious Majesty Queen Victoria, and our unswerving attachment to the Legislative Union now existing between Ireland and Great Britain, and do hereby record it as our solemn conviction that any change tending to weaken or impair such union would be fatal to the prosperity and progress of Ireland as fraught with the greatest danger to the British Empire.”

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**ULSTER.****ANTRIM.**

“We, the High Sheriff and Grand Jury of the county of Antrim, assembled at the Spring Assizes, 1886, consider it our duty at the present time to express our unswerving loyalty to the Crown, and our earnest hope that no scheme of so-called Home Rule will be entertained by Her Majesty’s Government. We most earnestly hope and pray that the law may be supreme, and life and property again made secure throughout Ireland. While thankful to Providence that sedition and anarchy have not extended to this county, we cannot but feel that the general state of Ireland is such as to drive from our shores that capital and enterprise the presence of which is essential to the prosperity of the country, and especially to that class for whose alleged benefit and interest disloyalty and agitation have been encouraged.”

**ARMAGH.**

“We, the High Sheriff and Grand Jury of the county of Armagh, assembled at the Spring Assizes, 1886, hereby desire to express our loyalty and sincere attachment to Her

Gracious Majesty the Queen. We declare our opinion that any measure giving to Ireland separate legislative power, or even tending to weaken the Union existing between Great Britain and Ireland, would be productive of consequences disastrous to the well-being and safety of the country. We wish strongly to urge on Her Majesty's Government the absolute necessity of restoring social order in Ireland, enforcing obedience to the laws of the land, and putting an end to the state of anarchy at present existing."

#### CAVAN.

"That we, the Grand Jury of the county of Cavan, assembled at the Spring Assizes, 1886, desire to hereby record our unswerving loyalty and allegiance to Her Gracious Majesty the Queen, and to declare our firm belief that any disturbance of the existing Legislative Union between Great Britain and Ireland would endanger the stability of the Empire, would be against the true interests of Ireland, and could only be accomplished in defiance of the earnest wishes, the profound convictions, and the strenuous resistance of our loyal fellow-subjects of all creeds and classes. We regret that in many parts of the country a widespread conspiracy exists, directed, not alone against the maintenance of the Union, but also against the security of property and the rights and liberties of individuals. All classes in the community have suffered from the malevolent action of this baneful organization. And we are convinced that the suppression of the Irish National League, and a firm and even administration of the law, would greatly tend to restore peace, confidence, and prosperity to Ireland."

#### DONEGAL.

"That we, the Grand Jury of the county of Donegal, assembled at the Spring Assizes, 1886, hereby desire to express our deep attachment and loyalty to Her Majesty the Queen, and our belief in the necessity of strictly maintaining the Legislative Union between Great Britain and Ireland, any infringement of which, in our opinion, would be disastrous to Ireland, and extremely injurious to Great Britain."



## DOWN.

"We, the High Sheriff and Grand Jury of the county of Down, assembled at Spring Assizes, March 12th, 1886, desire to express our sincere feelings of loyalty to Her Most Gracious Majesty Queen Victoria, and to state our conviction that any disseverance of the Legislative Union between Great Britain and Ireland would be fraught with most disastrous consequences to the interests of both countries.

"We desire emphatically to urge on Her Majesty's Government the necessity that exists for adopting adequate measures for the restoration of order, and the suppression of anarchy and acts of persecution and cruelty, which are so prevalent in many parts of Ireland."

## FERMANAGH.

"That we, the Grand Jury of Fermanagh, at Spring Assizes assembled, hereby desire to record our unswerving attachment to the Queen and Constitution, and to express our emphatic protest against any measure of Home Rule, or any other measure which could tend to weaken the Legislative Union between Great Britain and Ireland, believing as we do that any such measure would be disastrous to all the best interests of the country. And, further, while fully appreciating the immunity from crime which has hitherto been especially enjoyed in this county, and generally throughout Ulster, we urge upon Her Majesty's Government the necessity of taking immediate steps to insist that the authority of the law and individual liberty shall be equally respected in every part of the United Kingdom."

## LONDONDERRY.

"We, the Grand Jury of the county of Londonderry, assembled at Spring Assizes, believing the Union to be absolutely essential for the peace and prosperity of both countries, deprecate in the strongest possible manner any proposal to create an assembly in Dublin with legislative functions, as being fraught with danger to the educational, commercial, and manufacturing interests of the country, and as being likely to imperil civil and religious liberty."

**MONAGHAN.**

"We, the Grand Jury of the county of Monaghan assembled at Spring Assizes, 1886, desire to declare our deep

attachment and loyalty to Her Majesty the Queen, and our thorough belief in the necessity of maintaining the Legislative Union between Great Britain and Ireland in its strict integrity, dissolution of which would be the destruction of Ireland and most injurious to Great Britain.

"We also beg to impress her Majesty's Government with the paramount importance of a speedy restoration to social order, and the safety and protection of the lives and properties of Her Majesty's subjects, and putting an end to that state of anarchy and terrorism now existing in a large portion of Ireland."

**TYRONE**

"We, the High Sheriff and Grand Jury of the county of Tyrone, assembled at Spring Assizes, 1886, hereby renew our expression of loyalty to Her Gracious Majesty the Queen and the Constitution of the United Kingdom. We declare it to be our opinion that any measure conferring on Ireland a separate legislative assembly, or in any way tending to weaken the existing union between Great Britain and Ireland, would be fatal to the peace and well-being of our country. We desire to impress upon the Government the necessity of maintaining and restoring the supremacy of the law and the security of the person, property, and liberty of action of the subject, in every part of the United Kingdom alike."

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**MUNSTER.****CLARE.**

"We, the Grand Jury of the county of Clare, assembled at the Spring Assizes of 1886, desire to express our loyalty to Her Majesty the Queen, and our conviction that the dissolution of the Legislative Union between Great Britain and Ireland would be most injurious to the best interests of both countries.



"We also wish to urge on Her Majesty's Government the absolute necessity of restoring immediately, social order in Ireland, and terminating a state of anarchy, which does not exist in any civilized country in the world."

### CORK.

"That we, the Grand Jury of the county of Cork, assembled at Spring Assizes, 1886, desire to express our loyalty to Her Majesty the Queen. We also desire to urge on her Majesty's Government the absolute necessity of restoring social order in Ireland, and terminating a state of anarchy which does not exist in any civilized country in the world. We sincerely and unanimously believe that any measure tending to weaken the existing Legislative Union between Great Britain and Ireland would be most disastrous to both countries, and make residence in Ireland a difficulty for all peaceably disposed persons, and imperil the safety of the Empire."

### KERRY.

"We, the Grand Jury of the county of Kerry, in Spring Assizes assembled, feel compelled to call the serious attention of the Government to the question of social order in this county

"1 Crimes of a serious character extensively prevail—murders, assaults with firearms, maiming of individuals, intimidation, boycotting, night attacks on dwellings, raids for arms, incendiary fires, mutilation and stealing of cattle, &c., and the number of such cases reported to the constabulary has almost doubled as compared with the corresponding period of last year, while about 97 per cent. of them remain undetected. We desire to record our conviction, that unless the power of the law be speedily reasserted, and the societies whence these outrages emanate dissolved, what remains of security and property will shortly be at an end; and we believe that, unless a general measure for the suppression of crime be adopted, steps should be immediately taken to deal specially with the disturbed districts.

"2. That with regard to the question of Home Rule, we deprecate any attempt to weaken the direct authority of the Imperial Parliament by the creation of a separate legislative

body in Ireland, and we must record our solemn conviction that such a step, if taken, would involve the ruin of public confidence, destroy commerce, lead to internecine strife, and certainly to such a demand for total separation as would only be met by the alternative of civil war."

#### TIPPERARY—NORTH RIDING.

"We, the Grand Jury of North Tipperary, desire to express our attachment to the person and throne of Her Most Gracious Majesty the Queen, and our sense of the value of the Act of Union between Ireland and Great Britain, believing that any measure of Home Rule involving a separate Legislature for this island will weaken the stability of the throne, destroy the prestige of the Empire, and prove disastrous to the nation."

#### TIPPERARY—SOUTH RIDING.

"That in consequence of Mr. Gladstone's letter to Lord De Vesci inviting 'free communication of views from the various classes and sections most likely to supply full and authentic knowledge of the wants and wishes of all classes of the Irish people,' we, the Grand Jury of the South Riding of Tipperary, assembled at the Spring Assizes, 1886, desire to declare our unswerving loyalty to Her Majesty's Crown and person, and to record our belief, founded upon that full knowledge of the country which only residents can profess, that the interests and liberties of all her Irish subjects will be best protected by preserving the Legislative Union in its integrity."

#### WATERFORD.

"We, the Grand Jury of the county Waterford, assembled at Spring Assizes, take this occasion to place on record our firm conviction that the maintenance of the Legislative Union between Great Britain and Ireland is essential to the true interests of both Ireland and the United Kingdom; and that any measure tending to weaken or imperil the existing connexion must be dangerous to the stability of the Empire."



**CONNAUGHT.****GALWAY.**

“That we, the Grand Jury of the county of Galway, assembled at Spring Assizes, 1886, desire to tender the assurance of our devoted loyalty and attachment to Her Majesty the Queen, and to express our conviction that any measure tending to impair the Legislative Union at present existing between Great Britain and Ireland would be detrimental to the interests of both countries, and have a disastrous effect upon the peace and prosperity of Ireland, already most seriously affected by the lawless agitation prevailing throughout the country.”

**LEITRIM.**

“That we, the Grand Jury of the county Leitrim, assembled at the Spring Assizes, 1886, having heard with dismay the rumoured intentions of Her Majesty’s Government to propose to Parliament a scheme of legislation for Ireland which has been practically dictated by the fomentors of the present criminal agitation in this country, desire to place upon record our protest against any legislation which may have the effect of weakening the authority of the Crown, endangering the continuance of the present Legislative Union, and ruining the industrial and commercial interests of the country, which have already suffered so severely from the social disorder which successive Governments of recent years have allowed to prevail.”

**ROSCOMMON.**

“That we, the Grand Jury of the county of Roscommon hereby desire to express our loyalty to the Queen, and our unqualified conviction that any measure tending to invalidate or disturb the Legislative Union between Great Britain and Ireland would be at once detrimental to the best interests of both countries, and most disastrous to the peace and prosperity of Ireland.

“We would further most earnestly impress on Her Majesty’s Government the urgent need of restoring social order, and adopting such measures as are necessary to enforce respect for legal contracts and obedience to the law ”

SLIGO.

"That we, the Grand Jury of the county of Sligo, assembled at the Spring Assizes of 1886, desire to express our loyalty to Her Majesty the Queen, and our conviction that any legislation tending to the severance of the Legislative Union now existing between England and Ireland would be detrimental to the best interests of the country. Furthermore, we would urge on Her Majesty's Government the importance of restoring the reign of law and order, and of taking the necessary steps to enforce the due observance of the Land Act of 1881."

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